

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

USMISSION GENEVA

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

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USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

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SUBJ: PRAVDA ON CSCE AND DETENTE

1. SUMMARY AND COMMENT: IN A LENGTHY ARTICLE IN PRAVDA AUGUST 20 AUTHORITATIVE OBSERVER "S. DMITRIYEV" EXPLAINS HOW CSCE FITS INTO THE SOVIET CONCEPT OF DETENTE. IN OUR VIEW THE ARTICLE, WHILE CONTINUING EMPHATIC PRAISE OF THE CONFERENCE AND ITS RESULTS, REFLECTS THE CAUTIOUS AND DEFENSIVE TONE INCREASINGLY APPARENT IN SOVIET COMMENTARY ON THE ISSUE AS A RESULT OF WESTERN PUBLIC SKEPTICISM CONCERNING SOVIET PURPOSES AND INTENTIONS. THE THRUST OF THE ARTICLE IS THAT OFFICIAL SOVIET THINKING ASSIGNS A CLEAR RANK-ORDER OF IMPORTANCE TO THE VARIOUS PRINCIPLES AND OBLIGATIONS CONTAINED IN THE FINAL ACT. THE ARTICLE COMES AS CLOSE AS WE HAVE YET SEEN TO A STATEMENT OF SOVIET INTENTION TO IMPLEMENT THESE PRINCIPLES AND OBLIGATIONS IN THE SAME RANK-ORDER, WITH BASKET III LAST. DMITRIYEV DOES COME DOWN FROM THE THEORETICAL HEIGHTS TO ISSUE PRAISE ON BASKET II MENTION OF MFN, AND EMBRACES CBM'S AS THOUGH THEY WERE A SOVIET INVENTION--PERHAPS AS AN OLIVE BRANCH TO THE ROMANIANS. WE WERE TOLD AUGUST 20 BY A U.S.A. INSTITUTE DEPUTY DIRECTOR THAT DIMITRIYEV IS ON PONOMAREV'S STAFF IN THE CC INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT, AND THAT THE PSEUDONYM RESULTS FROM AN INVERSION OF FIRSTNAME-LAST NAME OR FIRST NAME-PATRONYMIC. END SUMMARY AND COMMENT.

2. FITTING BASKET I INTO THE SOVIET CONCEPT OF DETENTE, DMITRIYEV PAYS LIP SERVICE TO THE WESTERN CONTENTION, EMBODIED IN THE FINAL ACT, THAT ALL PRINCIPLES ARE LINKED AND INTERDEPENDENT. HAVING DONE THIS, HOWEVER, HE IMMEDIATELY SINGLES OUT INVIOABILITY OF BORDERS FOR SPECIAL TEATMENT AS "PENE-TRATING TO THE VERY HEART OF THE PROBLEM OF PREVENTION OF WAR." HE REFUTES WESTERN ACCUSATIONS THAT THE EAST WINS MORE FROM THIS PRINCIPLE THAN DOES THE WEST, CONTENDING THAT IT IS VITAL FOR PEACE FOR ALL COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE FRG.

3. IN ORDER TO DEAL WITH BASKETS II AND III, DMITRIYEV DEFINES DETENTE TO INCLUDE "MANY ELEMENTS" WHICH TAKEN TOGETHER RESULT IN A "NORMALIZATION OF POLITICAL RELATIONS." "MILITARY ASPECTS" HAVE A "VERY GREAT SIGNIFICANCE," AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE/ECONOMIC AND SCIENTIFIC/TECHNOLOGICAL TIES IS AN "ESSENTIAL ELEMENT." THE "PROGRESS OF THE PROCESS

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OF DETENTE," HOWEVER, "CREATES FAVORABLE CONDITION" FOR COOPERATION IN BASKET III AREAS. WHAT DMITRIYEV SEEMS TO BE SAYING IS THAT WHILE FULFILLMENT OF BASKET I OBLIGATIONS, AND TO SOE DEGREE BASKET II OBLIGATIONS AS WELL, COMBINE TO MAKE UP DETENTE, FULFILLMENT OF BASKET III OBLIGATIONS IS SOMETHING THAT WILL RESULT FROM DETENTE.

4. MAKING THE SAME POINT ANOTHER WAY, DMITRIYEV SAYS THAT

DURING THE YEARS OF THE COLD WAR, BASKET III AREAS COULD NOT BE CONSIDERED TO BE A MATTER FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. BUT NOW, "AS DETENTE PROGRESSES THEY ARE SUGGESTED BY LIFE ITSELF AS IMPORTANT AND POSSIBLE." DMITRIYEV IMMEDIATELY MOVES AT THIS POINT, LEST MISUNDERSTANDINGS ARISE, TO QUOTE FROM THE LADERSHIP DECREE APPROVING THE RESULTS OF CSCE THAT SECTION WHICH EMPHASIZES THAT COOPERATION HERE MUST OBSERVE "THE LAWS AND TRADITIONS" OF EACH STATE. AND LATER HE EXPLICITLY STATES THAT "FULL COOPERATION OF THE BASIS OF EQUALITY AND MUTUAL BENEFIT CAN DEVELOP SUCCESSFULLY ONLY UNDER CONDITIONS OF STRICT OBSERVATION OF ALL OF THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF (INTER-STATE) RELATIONS, INCLUDING THE PRINCIPLES OF SOVEREIGN EQUALITY AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS."

5. ON POINTS OF DETAIL, DMITRIYEV PRAISES MFN AND OTHER ASPECTS OF BASKET II AS "ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT AND PROMISING" AND DEVOTES FOUR LENGTHY PARAGRAPHS TO PRAISING CBM'S. HE NOTES THE POTENTIAL BENEFICIAL EFFECTS OF CBM'S IN RELATION TO MASSING OF TROOPS NEAR BORDERS--A ROMANIAN SORE POINT--AND IN A PARAGRAPH ON DISARMAMENT IMPULSES RESULTING FROM CSCE, HE MAKES SPECIAL NOTE OF THE NEED TO RESPECT THE INTERESTS OF ALL PARTICIPATING STATES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS--A BOW TO CONCERNS EXPRESSED BY THE NEUTRAL STATES. THIS INCLUSION OF THESE ELEMENTS MAY BE DESIGNED TO DRAW POISON FROM ROMANIAN AND NEUTRAL DISCONTENT AT HAVING MINOR OR NO ROLE IN SALT AND MBFR, WHICH SOVIETS ARE NOW PROMOTING AS NEXT STEPS IN DETENTE.
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